

63/ though lacking in agricultural self-sufficiency. The province has frequently been an independent entity when China has been disunited or its ruler weak. But in periods when strong centralized rule had been established on the North China Plain, Shansi has been too close to the central domain to resist absorption into it.²

• 175 II. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization

The southern parts of Shansi and Hopei were approximately the northern center of an east-west belt of interacting neolithic cultures out of which emerged the mainstream of Chinese civilization. The first organized state in China of which we have concrete evidence -- the Shang (c. 1520 to c. 1030 B.C.) -- was centered on what is today the border of Hopei and Honan and included the southern area of modern Shansi. From this area, Chinese culture spread in all directions, integrating elements of other cultures with which it came in contact, to the limits of

2. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 32.

- 175 arable land and topographical barriers.³

The expansion of Chinese civilization
and its integration of alien cultures in the North

3. On Chinese pre-history and the development of the Shang state see H. G. Creel, The Birth of China, London, Jonathan Cape, 1936; Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-21. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1954, pp. 72-99, summarizes both the foregoing presentations and other modern scholarship on China's early development. On the extent of the original Shang state and its lines of expansion, see maps in Albert Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 7-8, 9.

175 was accelerated after the ruling house of the succeeding Chou Dynasty (c. 1030 to 221 B.C.) declined in 771 B.C. and its territories fragmented into petty kingdoms.⁴ Until the middle of the fifth century B.C., the greatest advance was made by the state of Chin. Originally occupying what is today southern Shansi, Chin expanded northward beyond the limits of the province's modern borders. In the process, the state absorbed less advanced people or drove them to the steppes of present-day Inner-Mongolia, where the soil and climate favored the creation of a competitive specialized civilization based on nomad herding. A similar development occurred to the east and west of Chin as the respective states of Yen and Ch'in pushed their borders to the limits of agricultural land and beyond.⁵

When the three Chou states reached and passed the limits of terrain favorable to Chinese civilization, the competing nomad civilization began to have a counter-affect on

4. On the Chou state and its fragmentation see Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 25-68; Needham, op. cit., pp. 90-98; and Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., revised. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 42-83.

5. Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (American Geographical Society Research Series No. 21), 2nd ed., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., Capitol Publishing Co., Inc., 1951, pp. 382-90, 412-19

175 them. In advancing into what is now northern Shansi, where the land is marginal to agriculture and herding, and into present-day Inner Mongolia, where the land is not suited to farming at all, the people of China were quickly forced to adopt elements of the nomad culture. The Chin pioneers in these areas soon broke their old political ties and formed a separate state of Chao.

The new state almost immediately engaged in simultaneously repelling the counterattack of nomad tribes and in contending for survival and supremacy with the old Chou states and new ones formed during the expansion of Chinese civilization. Chao's neighboring state of Ch'in, occupying what is today Shensi, proved more able in handling the new techniques of warfare borrowed from the nomads and the modified form of Chinese political organization. By 221 B.C., Ch'in had overcome all opposition and established the first unified Chinese empire.

B. The Great Wall and Its Function

175 An undertaking for which China's first
712 emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (221 to 210 B.C.)
131 is still known throughout the country was his reconstruction and extension of the northern walls of his original domain and of the former

175 Chao and Yen kingdoms. The line of the first
712 Great Wall of China, built by hundreds of
131 thousands of conscripted laborers, included
more of the steppe region of Inner Mongolia and
southwestern Manchuria than the last Great Wall
constructed under the Ming Dynasty (1368
to 1644). This last frontier barrier in its
eastern extensions largely coincided with the
northern boundaries of Shansi and Hopei before
the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Other
dynastic rulers of China up to the end of the
imperial period (1912) have rebuilt and main-
tained the Great Wall along or between its
175 original and final extensions.⁶ For all the
131 emperors, the reason for the existence of the
184 wall was the same: It was an attempt to
563 establish and maintain a line of demarcation
between the settled Chinese peoples and the
nomadic "barbarians."

563 The line of demarcation was never
311 definitely settled. Judging by the changes in
the borders of the North China Region, the
problem of establishing a true boundary between
the "Han Chinese" and what are now called
ethnic minorities still has not been solved.
The continued existence of the problem arises

6. See map in Lattimore, op. cit., p.336.

563 from the fact that arable land suited to the
311 Chinese type of agriculture only gradually
shades off into steppe land not suitable for
farming.

175 The northern portions of Shansi (above
131 Taiyuan) and of Hopei (above Peking) are part
563 of this marginal zone. Unstable politically
184 and culturally, this area and its inhabitants were
drawn toward the tribal culture of the steppes
when it was on the rise or toward the imperial
system of China proper when it was strong
and united. The area was also a primary train-
ing ground in the Chinese way of life for
nomads drawn, pushed, or invited into
China as well as a Chinese staging area for
campaigns of conquest in the steppe regions of
Central and northern Asia. So marginal and
politically unstable is northern Shansi that
its upper and lower borders have at different
times been included in the main line of the
Great Wall, resulting in the encompassment of
northern Shansi by remains of the frontier
barrier. The frontier struggle began with
the establishment of the first stable Chinese
empire under the Han Dynasty (221 B.C. to
A.D. 220) and lasted until at least the beginning
of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.⁷

7. Lattimore, op. cit., develops the thesis
of the origin, nature, and consequences of the
frontier conflict.

C. The T'ang Dynasty

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The T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618 to 906), which promoted the highest flowering of Chinese culture, was established by a family having a strong nomadic strain and using subsidized "barbarian" troops.⁸ The dynasty's first emperor, Li Yüan (Kao Tsu), was of aristocratic North Chinese lineage on his father's side and of nomadic ancestry on his mother's side. His original domain coincided with the extent of the ancient kingdom of Chao in northern Shansi. This area provided a favorable environment both for cultivating the scholarly and artistic accomplishments of the Chinese civilization and for mastering the nomad art of swift warfare and control of tribal auxiliaries.

The second ruler of the dynasty, Li Shih-min (T'ai Tsung), was proficient in both the Chinese and nomadic skills. His was the initiative and direction of a revolt against the Sui Dynasty (581 to 618). In seven years of warfare, he conquered the country and placed his father on the throne of a united China.

As emperor, Li Shih-ming was equally

8. Latourette, op. cit., p. 189 ff.;
Lattimore, op. cit., p. 414.

175 remarkable and earned for himself a place with
posterity second to none among China's many
rulers. He dispelled the menace of the Turks
on the northern frontier, pushed Chinese
hegemony into Central Asia, and reorganized
the empire and its administration. His work
initiated an era of unsurpassed excellence in
Chinese art and literature and of cultural and
commercial contact with the rest of the world.

D. Nomad Occupation of North China

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563 For most of the fourth through sixth
184 centuries and the tenth through thirteenth
centuries, Hopei and Shansi were under nomad
dominance while the South was experiencing
great cultural advances under Chinese rulers.⁹

9. The best accounts of the nomadic conquest
and rule of North China are: Eberhard, op. cit.,
pp. 110-77, 207-39; Wolfram Eberhard,
Conquerors and Rulers, Leiden, E. J. Brill,
1952; pp. 64-120; and Karl A. Wittfogel, Feng
Chia-sheng, et al, History of Chinese Society:
Liao (907-1125), issued as Transactions of
the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 36,
1946, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical
Society, 1949.

175 The periods of division have led to some
563 differences between North and South in dress,
184 spoken language, and habits of daily life.

Also, the long centuries of partition have developed a consciousness within North and South of their separate identities and some antagonism between the two regions which has never been eradicated.

These differences should not be too much stressed, however. Sufficient numbers of the old families stayed in the North to fill most of the administrative jobs under the alien rule and instill Chinese values and forms of organization in the conquerors. By intermarriage and cultural conformity, the nomad peoples have been so thoroughly assimilated by the conquered Chinese that today there is no trace of the separate strains of Tibetan, Manchu, Hun, Turkish, or Mongol invaders who overran North China and settled there.

E. The Alien Dynasties

175 Only twice have the nomad invaders of North China extended their dominance over the whole country. The Mongols who had conquered North China by 1260 ruled all China as the Yuan Dynasty from 1279 to 1368. The Manchus, entering by way of Peking, dominated all China as the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1644 to 1912.

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The entry into North China of the Mongols under Genghis Khan at the beginning of the thirteenth century was the climax of four centuries of nomad invasion and rule in North China. Shansi and Hopei had been under the rule of the Nüchen (Juchen) Tartars (Chin or Kin Kingdom) for about a century when the Mongols carried their attack into those provinces and took Peking in 1215. Not until 1279 was the rest of China subdued and the first alien mastery of all China established.¹⁰

Like the Mongols, the Manchu conquerors had assimilated much of the Chinese culture of the North before attempting the conquest of China. Well organized at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they maintained themselves outside the Great Wall, made occasional raids into North China, and even adopted the dynastic title of Ch'ing before penetrating the frontier barrier in force.¹¹

10. On the Mongols in China see Eberhard, A History of China, pp. 243-57; Latourette, op. cit., pp. 243-49, 277-98.

11. On the Manchus see Franz Michael, The Origin of Manchu Rule in China: Frontier and Bureaucracy as Interacting Forces in the Chinese Empire, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942; Lattimore, op. cit., 308-11, 327-427.

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The Manchu's entry into North China followed an old pattern. The last decades of the Ming Dynasty, as with every previous regime in China, was marked by the decline in vigor of the ruling house, abuse of power by the dynasty and its officials, and the growth of disorder and rebellion among the people. In the North, a commoner named Li Tzu-ch'eng had instituted a rebellion which by 1644 had enabled him to gain ascendancy over all North China, seize Peking, and proclaim the founding of a new dynasty. He made no attempt to attract the sympathy of the gentry and officials or to reassure them that the system they represented would be preserved and staffed by them under his rule. One of these officials, Wu San-kuei, was the commander of the Ming forces defending the frontier. He did what many of his predecessors had done in a like dilemma -- invited inside the Great Wall the nomad forces he was holding off at the frontier. After the combined armies of the Manchus and Wu San-kuei had retaken Peking, he and other army and civilian officials of the Ming joined the new Ch'ing Dynasty in conquering the rest of China. It did not entirely succumb until 1683, when a counter-rebellion launched by Wu San-kuei against his new masters was finally put down.

Several factors merit attention regarding the affect on North China of alien rule

175 over the whole country coming after centuries of nomad dominance in the area between the Great Wall and the Yellow River.

For the first time in Chinese history, the capital of China was located outside the area around the great southeast bend of the Yellow River when the Yüan Dynasty established its capital at Peking in 1279. That city has continued to be the site of China's capital to the present day, except for the first forty-one years of the Ming Dynasty and the period of the Nationalist Government from 1928 to 1937 when the capital was at Nanking.

Under both alien dynasties, the territory ruled from Peking was more extensive than that controlled by any native dynasty and permitted the establishment of a single political control over the agricultural, marginal, and nomad regions above the Yellow River. Already controlling Manchuria before entering China, the Ch'ing rulers brought an end to nomad and agricultural conflict in the border region by conquering the steppes of Mongolia and subverting the war potential of its inhabitants into pacific trading and religious activities. Early in the process, the Manchus also halted Russian expansion in Siberia at the Amur River.

A further factor that should be noted in China's dominance by alien rulers is that

175 the North was far more amenable to their continued rule than was the South. The Yüan and Ch'ing dynasties were both eliminated by revolutionary forces centered on or below the Yangtze River. As the northern provinces had been least resistant to the Manchu conquest, they were more trusted by the Ch'ing than were the southern provinces. Although the grain-tax wealth of the empire was largely derived from the South, Ch'ing revenues were most heavily lavished on Peking and the surrounding areas. For these and other reasons, including perhaps the fact that the northerners were more used to getting along with alien rulers, neither Shansi nor Hopei contributed significantly to the revolutionary movements that attempted from the end of the nineteenth century to overthrow Manchu rule and finally achieved success in 1912.

F. Transition in North China's Economic and Political Position

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433 Shansi has never been rich agriculturally, but the Fan River portion of the province was able to satisfy a large part of the relatively limited grain demands of China's early civilization through the end of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 9). In the latter Han Dynasty (23 to 220), the key economic area of the empire shifted from the loess

433 highlands to the North China Plain, which
● 175 included southern Hopei.¹² At the end of the
third century and the beginning of the fourth century
Shansi became sparsely populated and Hopei's
population was greatly reduced by the mass
emigration of Han Chinese fleeing from nomad
invasion, drought, and famine above the Yellow
River.¹³

433 The building of the Grand Canal by the
175 Sui and the resulting realization of the agri-
312 cultural potential of the lower Yangtze basin under
the T'ang Dynasty, reduced the North China
Plain to a secondary economic position. How-
ever, although the Yangtze area contributed an
overwhelming share of the empire's tax-grain
revenues under the T'ang, the ruling house
attempted to improve the productive possibilities
of the home province of Shansi by undertaking
numerous irrigation projects there as well as
in Shensi to the west.¹⁴

631 After the location of the capital at
175 Peking near the second economic area of China
433 and the rebuilding of the Grand Canal by the
Mongol rulers to bring to the political center

12. Chi, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

13. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 175-79.

14. Chi, op. cit., p. 42.

631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion
in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free
from the risks and losses of ocean transport
and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the
coast, the inland waterway was increasingly
costly to operate and maintain. This fact and
the military danger of over-reliance of the
capital on the South for grain induced the Yüan,
Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt develop-
ment of the Hui River area near Peking by the
construction of additional irrigation systems.
The productive results of the projects never
came up to expectations, however, because
the climate and soil of the area were unfavor-
able.¹⁵

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.¹⁶
The rise of a merchant class in the province
began with the Shansi people's participation
in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-
regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.

16. Ibid., p. 144.

441
175 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the
Ch'ing rulers.

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453 The business group in Shansi increasingly
gained experience in credit transactions, and
by the nineteenth century had achieved a
dominant position in the economy of Inner
Mongolia and a leading role in the banking
business of China.¹⁷ Among the prominent
banking figures from Shansi in Modern China
have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung
Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the
Nationalist Government and president of the
Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla
leader and later minister of Finance of the
People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director
of economic research at the Central Bank of
China under the Nationalist Government, and
under the Communist regime secretary-general
of the Committee for the Promotion of Inter-
national Trade and a director and assistant
general manager of the Bank of China.

177 III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278;
Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

I. INTRODUCTION

142 Compared with the Chinese in the South and the Southwest, the northern Chinese are generally taller, have longer and larger heads, relatively lower foreheads and cheek bones, lighter skins, and less pronounced development of the almond-shaped eyes.¹ Although the northern Chinese are more uniform in appearance than their compatriots in South and Southwest China, they are still a very mixed group; and the fact that they all speak Northern Mandarin by no means indicates lack of diversity in their ethnic composition.

II. THE HAN CHINESE, MANCHUS, AND MONGOLS

- 175 The Han Chinese who constitute the great majority of the population in North China were established in the area occupied by the present provinces of Shansi and Hopei toward the end of the third century B.C., and at that time, having assimilated all of the "barbarians," they were the only people residing in that part of the country.² The invasions of North China by tribes of Hsiung-nu and Hsien-pei from A.D. 304 to 580, the Ch'i-

1. The difference between the northern and southern Chinese was sufficiently great that Marco Polo called North China Cathay and South China Manji. Li Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 165-66.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-66, 232.

- 175 tan and Nu-chen from A.D. 907 to 1235, and the Mongol tribes from A.D. 1280 to 1368 resulted in the ascendancy of these tribes in North China and the migration of many Han Chinese across the Yangtze River. The so-called Han Chinese population in North China was in fact a mixture of Han Chinese and the tribal elements mentioned above.³

175 During the Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1644-1911)
563 there was constant migration into China proper from both North Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia of recruits for garrisons and other kinds of military service inside the Great Wall. There arose Manchu settlements in North China.⁴
563 Today, the majority of Mongols and Manchus live in autonomous regions in Inner Mongolia and the Northeast respectively. Those remaining in Hopei and Shansi are generally scattered among Han Chinese communities. Under Communist leadership, a number of people in Shansi and Hopei have distinguished themselves as prominent citizens of Manchu and Mongol origin, but they are in fact not much different, either culturally or in physical appearance, from the Han Chinese around them. Although the Peking government often speaks of its policy toward non-Han peoples, it has no distinct policy for

3. Ibid., pp. 232, 282, 265, 167.

4. While this process was going on, many Han Chinese, seeking farmland, migrated in just the opposite direction into Manchuria and Inner Mongolia from China proper.

PART 6. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER XIX

Myths, Legends, and History

175 THE TING HSIEN histories and other sources trace the story of the Ting Hsien area back to the time of China's early Emperors Huang Ti and his grandson Chuan Hsü. Some authorities even give dates for those rulers and the outstanding events of their reigns. The great flood from which Emperor Yü saved the land has been dated as occurring in 2297 B.C. Beyond recognizing that such accuracy is hardly possible and that much of China's early history is largely myth and many of her early heroes are probably legendary rather than real, we have not attempted to determine where myth and legend end and history begins. Our story of Ting Hsien through the centuries is a combination of myth, legend, and history as recorded by the local and other historians. Whether or not it is actual history makes little difference in our study for the story as told depicts the accepted cultural and social background of the people, the emperors, the heroes, the demi-gods that they think of as belonging to their heritage, and so has a very definite place in a social study of the area.

It is said that the Emperor Huang Ti conquered the aborigines and invented the Chinese calendar and the cycle of sixty years. His kingdom included the area south of the present Paoting, so from earliest times Ting Hsien has been part of China and has shared in its political history, the invasions from the north, and the big dynastic changes. It has also had its own political history, belonging first to one and then to another of the small states or other political divisions of the country. The Ting Hsien chih,¹ or county histories, begin their story at the time

1. The Harvard Yenching Index of Hsien Chih lists the editions of the Ting Hsien History as K'ang Hsi 11th year (1672), Yung Cheng 11th year (1733), Ch'ien Lung 10th year (1745), Tao Kuang 29th year (1849), Hsien Feng 19th year (1860). A new edition, published in 1934, was in preparation at the time of our study, and its material was made available to us.

[p. 426 is blank]

175 when Emperor Chuan Hsü, the grandson of Huang Ti, divided the nation into nine parts. Ting Hsien belonged then to Chi Chou, one of the nine divisions.

In the fifth year of Ti Chih, the future Emperor Yao was made Marquis of T'ang, an area that is said to lie between the T'ang River, which runs across the northern part of Ting Hsien, and the present Hsin Lu, which is some 60 li west of Tingsien city.² T'ang Ch'eng Ts'un, a village nine li north of Tingsien, is said to have been the capital of the Marquis of T'ang.

Tradition has it that Emperor Yü built the pagoda in Ku Ch'eng Ts'un so that he could watch the flood. While that was hardly possible, it is interesting as an example of how attempts have been made to connect the locality with outstanding early events. The maps of ancient China show the Yellow River flowing not far east of the present Ting Hsien³ and emptying into the Yellow Sea near the present Tientsin.

Ting Hsien was part of Chi Chou during the Hsia and Shang dynasties, but belonged to P'ing Chou during the Chou dynasty. At the time of the Spring and Autumn Annals it was part of Chin, one of the large feudal states that made up the empire. At this time, 530 B.C., the name given to the area apparently was Hsien Yu Kuo. About 500 B.C. it was changed to Chung Shan Kuo, Middle Hill Kingdom. The name Chung Shan was connected with the area, off and on, for the next 1,800 years. It finally disappeared in 1368 when Hung Wu, the first Ming Emperor, changed Chung Shan Fu to Ting Chou.

In 408 B.C., during the Chan Kuo or Age of the Contending States, when the Chou Emperor was largely a figurehead and the wars between the feudal states were generally wars of annihilation, Chung Shan was overcome by Wei Wen Ho, the King of the State of Wei. He occupied it, but continued it as a state.

In 308 B.C. Wu Ling Wang of Chao, one of the Chih States, went to the village of Chiu Men to contemplate, at his ease, the frontiers of Ch'i and Chung Shan, two countries that he coveted. In 307 B.C. he launched an expedition against the principality of Chung Shan and took part of it, up to the city of Fang-tse. The next year he returned to the attack

2. Ting Hsien indicates the city. Tingsien the hsien city.

3. George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1934).

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and penetrated to the city of Ning Chia. In 300 B.C. he secured control of three quarters of the country and the Tartar Prince of Chung Shan took refuge at the court of Ch'i. The annexed territory extended north to the province of Tai and the Kingdom of Yen. In 295 B.C., with the help of the Kings of Ch'i and Yen, Wu Ling Wang completed the annexation of Chung Shan.

In 221 B.C. Cheng, the Prince of Ch'in, conquered Ch'u and completed the unification of the country. He took the imperial title of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. He had such complete control of the country that he was able to abolish the old feudal states. For administrative purposes he divided the country into 36 chün, districts. Ting Hsien was part of the district named Chü Lu.

Han Kao Tsu (206-195 B.C.), the first Emperor of the next dynasty, divided the country into 62 districts. One of these was Chung Shan Chün. It included 14 hsien. A half century later, 154 B.C., the Emperor Ching Ti appointed his ninth son, Liu Sheng, King of the country of Chung Shan. His capital, Lu Nu, is said to have occupied the site of the present city of Tinghsien. He died in 113 B.C. and was buried in a big tomb that is still one of the sights of the city. A biographical note says that he was fond of wine, loved women, and was the father of more than 120 sons.

In 106 B.C. many of the states and districts were consolidated when the Emperor Yuan Feng appointed 13 rulers who should divide the administration of the country. Chung Shan was then part of Chi Chou.

Tradition has it that Kuang Wu Ti had a narrow escape in Ting Hsien during the fighting preceding the establishment of the Later Han dynasty. Being closely pursued by the troops of his enemy, the usurper Wang Mang, he sought help from a farmer he found plowing in the field. The farmer buried him in a furrow and so enabled him to escape. The big tomb near Chou Ts'un, some 30 li from Tinghsien, is said by some to be the grave of this farmer; because of his help to the Emperor he was buried in an almost imperial tomb. A temple built on the slope of the hill covering the grave is dedicated to Han Kao Tsu.

Another story says that Han Kuang Wu, after his escape from Wang Mang, could not decide which way he should go. He sought advice from the ants and they formed the character Tung for east. Going in that direction he not only escaped further pursuit but was able to raise the forces with which to defeat Wang Mang and gain the Imperial throne.

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The country of Chung Shan was reestablished soon after the beginning of the Later Han dynasty when the Emperor Kuang Wu appointed his uncle Mao as the ruler. The succession lapsed 140 years later when, in A.D. 195, the King of Chung Shan died leaving no heirs.

During the period of the San Kuo, or Three Kingdoms (221-265), Ting Hsien was part of the Kingdom of Wei which was ruled by Ts'ao Ts'ao, who is known as one of the great traitors of Chinese history. The western Kingdom of Shu was ruled by the famous prince Liu Pei who was assisted by the two generals Chang Fei and Kuan Yü and his famous Prime Minister Chu-Ko Liang. There was fighting between the Three Kingdoms, but it was in the west so did not disturb Chung Shan.

The country was united once more under Szu-ma Yen, who established the Chin dynasty in 265. He appointed Szu-ma Mu the King of Chung Shan. The records say that 5,200 families were taxed and that the country was divided into eight hsien.

In 309 Shih Lo ordered his generals to attack Chung Shan, Po Ling, and Kao Yang. Several tens of thousands of the enemy surrendered. Chung Shan was captured and made a part of the Hsiung Mi state of Chao. Some years later Jan Min overcame Chao and added Chung Shan to the State of Wei. In 351 Chung Shan was conquered by the State of Yen, generally known as Ch'ien Yen or Earlier Yen. Yen was ruled by the members of the Mu-jung family, descendants of the Khan of the Turkic tribe of Hsien Pei which had come in and settled north of the present Peking, then known as Yu Chou.

The story of the rise and fall of the Mu-jung family during 160 years gives a picture of the disturbed conditions of that time and indicates at least some of the difficulties of the inhabitants of the area that is now Ting Hsien.

Mu-jung Hui (268-333) is looked on as the founder of the Yen imperial family and has been canonized as a military genius of the Earlier State of Yen. Part of his prowess came from his immense size. The records state that he was eight feet tall.⁴ When a younger brother usurped his rights, Mu-jung Hui joined forces with the Chün Emperor, who had made himself the ruler of the State of Wei. His capital was located at Loyang.

Mu-jung Huang, the third son of Mu-jung Hui, is described as hav-

4. About 6' 8" by present standards. The Chinese foot of that period was equal to about 10 inches.

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ing a dragon countenance and is said to have been seven feet eight inches tall. He proclaimed himself the Prince of Yen in 337. 175

Mu-jung Ts'un (319-360?), the second son of Mu-jung Huang, was the giant of the family. He was eight feet two inches in height, six inches taller than his father and two inches taller than his grandfather. He succeeded his father as the Prince of Yen in 348 and assumed the imperial title in 352. It was his army, under the leadership of Mu-jung Ke, that captured Chung Shan in 351. In 354 he appointed his son, Mu-jung Wei, as King of Chung Shan. Another son, Mu-jung Ch'ung, was made King of Chung Shan in 359.

Mu-jung Ts'un's principal opponent in his struggle for power and the control of territory was Fu Chien (337-384), the Earlier Ch'in Emperor. Mu-jung Ts'un was able to maintain his position for a time but finally was captured by Fu Chien in 360. His third son, Mu-jung Wei (350-385), succeeded him but could not hold out against Fu Chien and was captured by the army led by Wang Meng. The next Prince of Yen was Mu-jung Ke, but his death in 370 enabled Wang Meng to annex the State of Yen to the Kingdom of Wei.

Mu-jung Ts'un was accompanied in his captivity by his youngest brother, Mu-jung Te (336-405), another eight foot two giant. He also found there his younger brother, Mu-jung Ch'ui, who had sought refuge from his brother with Fu Chien. He was the small member of the family, only seven feet four inches tall. Mu-jung Ch'ui was given official position by Fu Chien, but conspired with Mu-jung Wei to set up an independent kingdom. Mu-jung Wei's part in the plot was discovered and he was put to death, but Mu-jung Ch'ui proclaimed himself Prince of Yen in 383. His army, led by Mu-jung Liu, captured Chung Shan in 384. Mu-jung Ch'ui made Chung Shan his capital and built a large palace there. In 386 he assumed the Imperial title as ruler of Hou Yen, the Later State of Yen. When he died in 396 he was succeeded by his fourth son, Mu-jung Pao (355-399), whose reign lasted only three years. Defeated in battle by the king of the Tu Pa State of Wei, he sought refuge with Lan Han, but instead of giving him sanctuary Lan Han killed him.

Mu-jung Sheng (373-401), the son of a concubine of Mu-jung Pao, then became King of Yen. He avenged his father and killed Lan Han but was himself killed in the attack on the palace. His place was taken by his uncle Mu-jung Hsi, who was noted for his cruelty. Among many

175 others, he killed his grand-nephews, the sons of Mu-jung Pao. He himself was killed by Mu-jung Yün, the adopted son of Mu-jung Pao. Mu-jung Yün ascended the throne in 407 but reigned only two years. He was killed by two of the women of his court. He was succeeded by one of his ministers who ruled until 430 and then by a brother who succumbed in 436 to the attacks of the Kingdom of Wei.

Mu-jung Te, the youngest son of Mu-jung Huang, served under his father and his older brother, Mu-jung Ts'un. He accompanied the latter into captivity and held official position under his captor, Fu Chien. He joined Mu-jung Ch'ui after he had established the State of Hou Yen and also served as a minister under Mu-jung Pao. In 398, however, he rebelled and, following the death of Mu-jung Pao, was able to take over part of the territory of Yen and declare himself the emperor of the Southern State of Yen. His nephew Mu-jung Ch'ao (385-410) succeeded to the throne in 405, but he lost his kingdom and his life in 410 when he was captured by Liu Yü, a general of the Eastern Chin Dynasty and the founder of the Liu Sung Dynasty (420-479).

It was not certain just when, between 399 and 436, the armies of Wei captured Chung Shan. A military headquarters was established there as part of their defenses against the Chinese forces in the south. A new administrative area was set up called An Chou. Later on the name of the area was changed from An Chou to Ting Chou "in order to make the world peaceful or tranquil." This seems to be the first use of the name Ting Chou.

Toward the end of the Northern Wei dynasty, there was fighting around Ting Hsien. Yü Wen-hung, a general under Hsiu Li, led the attack, but was drowned during the fighting along the T'ang river. His son T'ai also served under Hsiu Li and, after the latter's death in 528, under Ke Jung. It is said that Ke Jung assembled a force of one million men and surrounded Yeh Erh Chu Jung, who, however, led 7,000 good soldiers against Ke Jung, defeated and captured him at Fu K'o. The rest of Ke Jung's force then surrendered. Ting Chou and four other chou were then under the control of Yeh Erh Chu Jung. After the death of Ke Jung, Yeh Erh Chu Jung took T'ai into his army and made him a general. Two years after he defeated Ke Jung, Yeh Erh Chu Jung was killed by the Emperor Wei Ti.

In 534 the Northern Wei Kingdom was split into the Eastern and Western Wei. The Eastern Wei was succeeded by the Pei Ch'i, Northern

Ch'i dynasty, the Western Wei by the Northern Chou. In 577 the latter conquered the Northern Ch'i and united north China. Yang Chien established the Sui dynasty by persuading his grandson, the last of the Northern Chou rulers, to abdicate. During the succeeding years Yang Chien was overcoming the forces to the south and in 589 he became the head of a reunited China. 175

The downfall of the Sui and the establishment of the T'ang dynasty in 618 brought a short period of revolt, but Ting Hsien probably was not greatly disturbed at this time as most of the fighting was to the west and south. For almost three hundred years China knew peace and prosperity. It was one of the great ages in Chinese history.

In 900 Chu Ch'uan Chung commanded his general Chang Ts'un-ching to attack Liu Jen-kung. He captured 20 cities and then, because the road was muddy, he turned west to Ch'i Chou and killed the magistrate there. He then attacked Ting Chou. Wang Ch'u-chih led several tens of thousands of soldiers against Chang Ts'un-ching. They met in battle at the Sha river, which runs across the southern part of Ting Hsien. Wang was defeated; half of the men were killed; the rest fled.

In the latter part of the eighth century the Khitans, a Mongol-speaking Turkish tribe from eastern Mongolia and southern Manchuria, moved down onto the upper part of the North China plain. They carried on raids to the south and at the end of the T'ang dynasty were the chief threat of invasion faced by the Chinese. In 928, led by their chief T'i Yin with 7,000 cavalry, they forced their way as far south as Ting Hsien. In the seventh month Wang Yen-Ch'u met and defeated them at the T'ang river, and pursued them to I Chou. As it was the rainy season the rivers were full and many of the Khitans were drowned. Many others were captured and killed by the armies of the later T'ang Emperor. In 936 Shih Ching-t'ang, with the aid of the Khitans, overthrew the Later T'ang dynasty and established the Later Chin dynasty. In 947 Shih's son and successor tried to throw off the suzerainty of the Khitans, but failed and was carried into captivity.

How often the struggle between the Khitans and the Chinese brought fighting to Ting Hsien cannot be determined from the records. Pi Shih, commenting on one of the histories of that time, remarked that the battles lost at the T'ang river were not mentioned—only the victories. It is known, however, that in the 11th month of 988 the Khitans came again to the T'ang river. They had defeated, in the north, the

175 immense expedition sent against them by Sung T'ai Tsung and had followed the retreating armies southward, capturing and looting the towns and villages along the way. They finally camped north of the T'ang river. The Chinese generals decided that they would not attempt to give battle. Li Chi-lung, however, although previously defeated, insisted on fighting. Helped by Yuan Chi-chung, he led his forces against the Khitans, defeated them, and pursued them as far as Ts'ao Chou. Li Chi-lung was rewarded by the Emperor for his victory.

The Sung and the Khitans were evenly matched and kept up their border warfare for a long time. In the sixth month of 1003 the Emperor showed the plan of battle to his generals and ordered the soldiers of Chen Ting, Kao Yang, and Ting Chou to meet at the T'ang river. There they were commanded to erect brush works so the enemy could not rush in. They were told that when the enemy came they should stand against them, that when they saw the opposing forces retire they should beat the drums, but keep their formation lest they be taken by surprise. Fighting came again the next year when the Sung general, Wang Ch'ao, was attacked and beaten. He had to withdraw and camped at Yang Cheng Ting.

The hsien histories do not tell of fighting in Ting Hsien during the next three hundred and fifty years, possibly because that part of the country was held by outsiders for most of that time, first by the Khitans and then by the Chin dynasty of the Nü-chen Tartars. The Chins first overcame the Khitans and then marched against the Sung and captured their capital, Kaifeng, in 1125. The Chin forces must have gone through Ting Hsien on their way south.

During the first decade of the thirteenth century the Mongol tribes, under the leadership of Genghis Khan, broke through the Great Wall and overran the provinces of Shansi and Hopei. In 1213 Genghis Khan led an expedition against the Chins and marched in triumph almost to the end of the Shantung promontory. This expedition undoubtedly won control of the Ting Hsien area. There was further fighting between the Chins and the Mongols and later between the Mongols and the Southern Sung dynasty of the Chinese. As the battle lines were far south of Ting Hsien, that area probably was not disturbed, except by the passage of large bodies of armed troops and the exactions and difficulties that attend such movements.

The Mongols made Cambaluc (Peking) their capital, so the surround-

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ing area would be free from disturbances during the time they held power. In 1367 Chu Yuan-chang, who had secured control of a large area in the lower Yangtze Valley, started north against the Mongol rulers. His generals captured Kaifeng and then pressed on to Cambaluc. Its fall in 1368 brought an end to the Mongol dynasty and signalized the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Because of the rapid withdrawal of the Mongol forces, the country did not suffer from long continued civil war, but there is probably little doubt that Ting Hsien suffered at the hands of the ill controlled, defeated Mongol armies.

In 1369 the Emperor Hung Wu took ten villages from Wu Chi Hsien and added them to Ting Hsien. They included the present market town of Hsing I, which used to be the chief city of Hsing I Hsien. Hsing I Hsien had been abolished and its territory given to Wu Chi Hsien soon after the end of the Sung dynasty. After the establishment of the Republic 2,680 mu were transferred from Ting Hsien to Hsin-lo Hsien.

Ting Chou, which included in its boundaries three hsien, Ting, Chü-yuang, and Shen-tse, was a provincial chou and was therefore directly under the central government rather than under first a t'ing, then a fu, then the provincial government, as was the case with most of the chou.

Terrible days came to Ting Hsien soon after the death of the Emperor Hung Wu. After defeating the Mongols and securing control of the country he established his capital at Nanking and sent his several sons to different parts of the empire as princes of the various local states. His fourth son, Chu Ti, was made the Prince of Yen. His capital was at Peking, then called Pei P'ing Fu. When the Emperor Hung Wu died in 1398 he was succeeded by his grandson, as his oldest son, the Prince Imperial, had died in 1392. Chu Ti would not accept his nephew as emperor and rebelled in 1399. He first started for Nanking through eastern Hopei and Shantung, but had to abandon the expedition of 1400 as the loyal troops at Mao Chou held out against him.

The next year, 1401, he again tried to fight his way south. This time he took the road through the western part of Hopei. In the eighth month he surrounded Ting Hsien. In the ninth month he assaulted and captured the city. He apparently slaughtered most of the population, for one record says: "The great plain north of the Yangtze was depopulated, swept by the besom of the Prince of Yen." Another report says that for a thousand li south from Peking he killed many of the

175 people because he met such resistance there. It is said that only two people, who had hidden themselves, escaped alive when he took Ting-hsien city. Referring to that time, the people recall it as the time when "the red insects [Yen Wang's soldiers wore red trousers] ate everything" and as a time when "the swallows nested in the trees [because they could find no roofs]".

Chu Ti finally was successful in his rebellion, captured Nanking, and placed himself on the throne in 1402. He took the Imperial title of Yung Lo. On his return to the north, the new Emperor made a special point of capturing Mao Chou and taking it to pieces brick by brick.

The Ting Hsien histories do not mention Yen Wang's assault on Tinghsien and the killing of the population. Evidently it was one of the events omitted from the official histories, even though the Yen Hsien history says that Yen Wang killed many people there.

The Emperor repopulated the desolated regions by bringing large groups of immigrants from Shantung and Shansi. Most of those who came to Ting Chou were from Shansi and many of the present Ting Hsien families trace their origin back to Hung Tung Hsien in Shansi. Two hundred and seventeen of the 529 clans in the Experimental District said their ancestors came from Hung Tung Hsien. One clan said their ancestors lived in Ting Hsien before 1400 and had escaped Yen Wang's troops by hiding. The 1780 edition of the Hung Tung Hsien history reported that there was a great famine in Shansi in 1428 and that more than 100,000 people moved away.

In 1448 a Mongol general, Yeh Hsien, invaded the north, captured the Emperor Chen T'ung, and fought his way south through Ting Hsien. Shih Heng and his son led their army against Yeh Hsien and defeated him at Ch'ing Feng Tien, a market town in the northern part of Ting Hsien. The Emperor, however, was still held captive by other Mongol officers and did not return to the throne until 1457.

In 1507 a band of bandits headed by Liu Liu and Liu Ch'i came from Pa Chou and raided the area south of Peking. They were defeated near Peking and retreated south, reaching Ting Hsien in 1510. The band did a great deal of damage there before they were driven off.

In 1638 a Manchu force came inside the Great Wall and captured 48 chou cities, including Ting Chou. They went further south, but came back the next year. They apparently had not attempted to hold Ting Chou, for on their return the city was held by a Chinese force. The

Manchus again took the city and killed many of the officers and gentlemen more than when they captured the city the previous year.

Fighting came again in 1644, at the end of the Ming dynasty. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung rebelled in Shensi and Shansi. They were so successful that Li Tzu-ch'eng attempted to make himself emperor. He marched on Peking and captured it after the death of the last Ming Emperor, Ch'ung Cheng. Li was soon driven out, however, as Wu San-kuei called in the Manchus and, with their help, defeated Li's forces. He set fire to the palace in Peking and retreated to the south. He attempted to make a stand at Paoting and at the T'ang river, but Wu defeated him there and pursued him further to the south.

In 1650 a Shansi general rebelled at Ta T'ung. He brought his forces to Ting Hsien, robbed the countryside, and finally captured and plundered the city. After that Ting Hsien had peace for the next two hundred years.

In 1853 the T'ai P'ings came north in an attempt to capture Peking. They reached Cheng Ting Fu, south of Ting Hsien, and swinging to the east and north, managed to reach Tinghai, some 20 miles from Tientsin, where they were defeated. Ting Hsien was not touched by the T'ai P'ings, but the unsettled times made it possible for several bands of bandits, led by Lu Erh-lu, Chang Chi-t'ai, Ma Chueh-tzu, and others to make a great deal of trouble throughout the countryside. They were finally captured and beheaded.

In 1862 the Ma Tse, horse thieves, were active south of the T'ang river. There were several hundred men in the band, and they caused considerable local disturbance, but could not have been a very serious threat to the peace of the countryside as they were captured by the local self-defense corps.

The year 1868 was one of local disaster for the bandit Chang Tsung-yu came with his band from Shen-tse Hsien to Ting Chou. The people of Ting Ts'un built a wall around the village and for a time held out against Chang. They were finally overpowered by numbers, the village was captured, and most of the inhabitants were killed. The bandits laid siege to the city, but the people and the soldiers held the wall until the bandits became discouraged and went to Ch'i Chou.

The Boxer Rebellion in 1900 brought trouble to Ting Hsien. The Boxers had several recruiting and training centers in the hsien. As part of their anti-foreign campaign they attacked the Catholic church in

175 Pei Ch'e Chi, but were unable to overcome the resistance of the church members. After the Boxers left, the church group, for revenge, robbed and burned some 15 villages. The villagers came to the city for aid and got a group of over one hundred men to help them. The church members could not hold out against this force, so one night several hundred men, women, and children attempted to escape to Cheng Ting Fu. The Boxers met them at Kao P'eng Chen and killed many of them.

In the ninth month foreign soldiers came to Tingsien and occupied the west suburb. Led by some of the Catholic group, they went to Kao P'eng Chen, burned the town, and killed many of the people. Later on, the foreign troops found a force of several hundred Boxers in a temple in Ch'ü Yang Hsien. They drove them out and burned the temple.

Toward the end of 1900 a girl living in Tun Wang Hsi tried to take advantage of the disturbed times. She assumed the title of Emperor and with the help of a group of supporters caused considerable trouble in Ting Hsien before her group was broken up.

In 1901 a group of foreign soldiers were passing Tung Chang Ts'un and wanted to enter the village. The villagers closed the gates in the wall and refused to let them in. The troops were about to move off when one of them was hit by a shot from the village. Tung Chang Ts'un and the neighboring villages were captured and burned and many of the villagers were killed.

The end of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 caused practically no disturbance in Ting Hsien. In 1913, the second year of the Republic, the political organization of the country was changed. The fu and chou divisions of the provinces were all abolished, leaving only the provincial and the hsien governments. The three hsien, Ting, Ch'ü-yang, and Shentse, that had been under Ting Chou, came under the direct control of the provincial government.

Taxes were increased after the generals started fighting for the control of the Peking government in 1920. In 1922 Wu P'ei-fu drove Chang Tso-lin north from Peking. In 1924 one of Wu P'ei-fu's generals came to Ting Hsien to collect money and requisition supplies. In January, 1926, Chang Tso-lin's army of Manchurian troops went through Ting Hsien on their way to Honan. In September they came back, retreating before an army from Shansi. The Fengtien army made a stand south of Paoting and drove the Shansi army back to Ting Hsien. They attempted to hold the city, but the Fengtien army came in from the east

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and, after fighting in the streets, drove out the Shansi troops. The people in the city built dugouts as refuges from the shooting. The victorious army not only levied special taxes for "saving" the city, but there was a great deal of general looting by the troops. 175

Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan fought again in October, 1927. Then in May, 1928, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan joined with the Nationalist forces to drive out Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien army. The Nationalist Revolutionary Army was fighting with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

Defeated at Shih Chia Chuang, Chang Tso-lin's army retreated to Ting Hsien. They were driven from there, but only after fighting in the city streets. Before they left, they looted the countryside and levied on the city. Judging from the losses in the Experimental District, the looting and exactions of the armies during the years 1927-1928 amounted to about \$1,000,000.

With the capture of Peking the Nationalists completed the unification of the country. They moved the capital to Nanking and changed the name of Peking from Pei Ching, North Capital, to Pei P'ing, North Peace.

There was fighting again in the summer of 1931 when Feng Yu-hsiang tried to start a revolt against the Nationalist government. The battle line was drawn to the north of Ting Hsien, but airplanes flew over and bombed the city. Bombproof cellars were dug for the inhabitants. Trenches were dug for machine gun emplacements on top of the city wall. The revolt quickly collapsed, so Ting Hsien was spared any serious fighting, but it did suffer from the armies as they went through.

The Japanese captured Ting Hsien in 1937, but met heavy resistance from the local forces. It was reported that the city changed hands some seven times before the Japanese were able to hold it. Because of the continued resistance throughout the countryside many of the villages were raided by the Japanese and not a few were burned and completely destroyed.

City Wall

Tinghsien city was surrounded by an old wall that the hsien history said was first built during the Han dynasty. Its length was given as 26 li and 13 pu. Another report gave its length as 21 li (seven miles). It 712 361

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GUILDS

A. THE EARLY EXISTENCE OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN CHINA

THE origin of the guilds in their present form is a problem on which there is little or no light. In the Chinese Encyclopedia there are detailed tracings through the dynasties of the development of the crafts, such as stone workers, silver-smiths, and carpenters; but these records give no details as to the organizations of these workmen. The following is a sample of the type of information or myth contained in the enormous Chinese Encyclopedia, *Shih Wu Chi Yuan*, which was published in the twelfth year of the Emperor Cheng Tung of the Ming Dynasty (1447). This note is given concerning the origin of wood carving:

Shien Chuang Shih Yi says that wood craft was originated by one of the courtiers of the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2704-2595), Tzo-Che. When the emperor died Tzo-Che made his statue of wood. He induced a group of feudal lords to worship the emperor. This carving marks the origin of wood craft (wood carving).

The development of this and other crafts is traced through the various reigns of the ancient emperors. In many cases the number of workmen of various sorts employed for a specific task in connection with the court is given; but nowhere could be found any reference to the organization of guilds.

438 There is ample evidence that both commerce and hand-
 656 crafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou*
 • 175 *Li*, or *Annals of the Chou Dynasty* (1122-249 B. C.), con-
 tain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of
 manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight
 materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He
 provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money."¹
 It is evident that the government at that early date had a
 close relationship with and supervision of both commerce
 and trade.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE REGARDING GUILD ORIGIN

* 441 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers
 * 467 Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the
 175 Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also
 to the institution of the different standards of currency in
 the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chi-
 nese literature in general, however, there is little or no refer-
 ence to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in offi-
 cials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present
 writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to
 the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves.
 In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are
 illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a
 secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, how-
 ever, it has been impossible to secure such records.

The preamble of regulations and the common tradition
 of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the found-
 ing, but more often the reply as to when the guild was
 founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regu-
 lations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds
 have been at work "from the days of yore to the present."²

¹ Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 147.

² Morse, *op. cit.*

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Mr. Gamble's statement will illustrate the problem we have in arriving at anything like an accurate appraisal of the age of these organizations:

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Just when in China's history the gilds first began to develop, no one knows. The Chinese records go back for more than three thousand years; but they tell only of Emperors, wars and subjects of literary merit. Business and anything connected with it have not been considered of literary merit, and so have not been more than very casually mentioned in the records. Any monuments or tablets that told of the gilds and their organizations have failed to survive the many changes that have come over the country. Even the gilds themselves cannot trace their history back to the beginning, for they have not any written constitutions, and they have not thought it at all necessary to keep records of their routine meetings or even of any radical change in their organization. They have been careful to preserve copies of the rules that have been in force, but the copies of any old rules have been destroyed.

The Korean gilds, on the other hand, have written constitutions and have kept a record of all alterations and amendments. Many of these constitutions are over one thousand years old. Reference is made in them to the Chinese gilds, as their form or organization was used as a model for the Korean gilds. Consequently, it is definitely known that the Chinese have used the gild organization for well over one thousand years. They have probably had it for two thousand years or even longer.¹

C. THEORIES OF GUILD ORIGIN

If one leaves historical data and enters the fascinating realm of conjecture on the basis of the slight evidence in hand, he sees certain possible ways that the guilds may have arisen. In the first place should be mentioned one theory which seems entirely improbable, namely, the origin of the

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¹ Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

*441 actions. Craftsmen and merchants united into guilds so
 *467 that they might thereby be able to present a solid front
 651 against excessive taxation. There is every evidence that
 such exploitation is very ancient, running back long before
 Confucius, Mencius, and other classical writers who com-
 mented on the unjust practices of officials. The guild may
 have arisen primarily as a means of protection from official
 exploitation.

*441 (5) The pressure of population upon the food supply in
 *467 China has already been commented upon.¹ The economic
 need of a large part of the population and the fact that there
 literally was not enough food to go around, would be natural
 incentives toward the formation of monopolistic groups to
 protect group interests in a given area.

D. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GUILD

*441 There are more recent references that show that guilds
 *467 were in existence some hundreds of years ago. Marco Polo,
 175 although not considered the most trustworthy of reporters,
 at least can be relied on in the matter of affirming the pres-
 ence of guilds in China. He finds during the reign of Kubla
 Khan (1260-1294) a high development of guilds in Hang-
 chow. There were in Hangchow twelve guilds of different
 crafts, and each guild had 12,000 houses occupied by its
 workmen.²

438 Douglas thus discusses the antiquity of commerce in
 China:

As for everything else in China, a vast antiquity is claimed
 for the beginning of commerce. In the earliest native works
 extant mention occurs of the efforts made to barter the products
 of one district for those of another, and to dispose of the super-
 fluous goods of China by exchange with the merchandise of the

¹ Cf. pp. 30-31.

² Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 187.